

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

WE MUST GIVE UP THE COLONIES



George Lansbury, M.P.

says **GEORGE LANSBURY**

**"No Nation Is Good Enough
To Govern Others"**

Below we give the views of George Lansbury, MP, President of the Peace Pledge Union, on the vital question of the colonies and world peace.

On page four are given the opinions of Lord Sanderson, Freda White and John Scanlon; and on page six Wilfred Wellock expresses his point of view.

Last week "Peace News" gave prominence to the "die-hard" Conservative attitude. We hope shortly to give the official Labour Party standpoint and other representative opinions.

Japan's "Mission" in Asia

Allahabad, India.—Yone Noguchi, renowned philosopher-poet of Japan, has addressed letters on the Sino-Japanese war to Mr. Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, and, in course of his letter to Tagore, he wrote:

The present war is a declaration to the West to leave hands off Asia... It is the war of "Asia for Asia"... Since the war began, we have grown spiritually strong and true, ten times more than before...

If Chiang Kai-Shek wishes a long war, we are quite ready for it. Five years? Ten years? Twenty years?—as long as he desires, my friend.

To which Tagore replied:

You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls. I have, as you rightly point out, believed in the message of Asia, but I never dreamt that this message could be identified with deeds which might bring exaltation to the heart of Tamerlane at this terrible efficiency in manslaughter.

The doctrine of "Asia for Asia" which you enunciate in your letter, as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the larger humanity that makes us look far across the barriers of political divisions.

"PEACE NEWS" IN PARLIAMENT

The list of libraries showing *Peace News* now includes the Press Gallery Library, in the House of Commons. This is a private library confined to journalists.

In addition the paper has been included in the Tiverton War Memorial Library, and in the public library in Abingdon. This makes a total of 372 consisting mainly of public libraries and reading rooms, but it is suggested that there may be other private libraries in which Peace Pledge Union members may find it possible to get their paper exhibited.

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CONTROVERSY

**Sir Henry Page
Croft**

wrote in *Peace News*
last week:

"The British method of ordered evolution has no relation to the older forms of Imperialism."

★

"The British Empire is a trust for the whole of our race, a trust which is on the whole, nobly fulfilled."

★

"To abandon that trust would be an ill service to peace; it would be a cruel betrayal to people who look to us to honour our pledge of protection."

★

Representative comments on this attitude appear on pages four and six of this issue. More will be published next week.

ALL EYES ON AMERICA!



With the opening of the 76th session of the US Congress on Wednesday, the eyes of the world turned to America. What line will President Roosevelt follow in foreign policy in the coming year? The answer is vital for the world. Read Geoffrey West's analysis on page 5.

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Britain's Choice

THE choice before Britain is simple:

Shall we, or shall we not, retrace our steps and as Christians go back to the founder of our religion and learn from Him how to order our own national life and also readjust our relationships with those under our control and our relationships with our powerful neighbours?

The new life in the world of thought today is incapable of finding full expression through old shibboleths. We must start here and now with a fresh endeavour to see ourselves in others and understand that the world we live in is an entirely new one. God and nature have given us the opportunity and means of sharing the world.

There is no such thing as an inevitable war; at this moment I refuse to believe war is coming. Chamberlain, Mussolini, Hitler, Roosevelt and Daladier do not mean what you and I mean, but facts are driving them together and in spite of greed, selfishness, vainglory, and other stupidities, they are striving to get themselves out of the man-made tangle of evil into which the policies of the ages have engulfed them.

A Simple Message

DURING the past three years and earlier, it has been my good fortune to meet statesmen in every part of Europe and most of the United States. My message given to all of them has been quite simple. The following is a summary of some part of my talks with dictators and democrats, and without exception, they have listened and argued in a friendly manner:

The world must make a new start. We all recognize the vast scientific and inventive changes which have overtaken the world. Before it is too late a new world conference must be held; all nations must attend as equals and come determined to save the world from catastrophe, and inspired by the spirit of good will and the understanding that cooperation is the outstanding need of our day.

The first question this conference must discuss is a truce in the armaments race. I believe that if statesmen come together in this spirit of good will which animates ordinary people in all lands it will be quite easy to arrange a standstill agreement, leaving all national armaments just where they are when the conference opens. There may be some suspicion and distrust which if necessary could be overcome by inspection, though I should hope the spirit of the conference would be such that the pledged word of each would be acceptable to all.

The main business of the conference would be to consider how to deal with the causes of war. The members would be asked to treat these

(Continued on page 12)

End Domination

POWER politics cannot be mixed with these splendid principles of life. There is no place in this gospel for domination, no place for exploitation, no place for the gospel of doing evil that good may come.

Great possessions bring none of us peace and security. Good men and women, whose lives are part of the present order, understand this clearer than many who are poor and generously aid good causes which to some extent palliate evils which accompany wealth into the world.

Slavery, serfdom and all that is known by the words control and domination are only possible because force is blended with kindness. India, years ago, would have been lost to Britain, had all Britishers gone there, as a Tory statesman once said, simply to make money. It has been the toil of thousands of white men and women which has made what Nationalist Indians describe as the British "yoke" tolerable.

The same is true in Africa and elsewhere.

THE BACKGROUND TO ITALY'S NEW CLAIMS: Tunisia, Nice and Corsica

Below we give notes on the history on which the Italian claims to Tunis, Nice, and Corsica seem to be based. (Population figures are taken from *Routledge's Encyclopedia*, published in 1934.)

Tunisia

THIS is a French colony on the North African coast, 100 miles south-west of Sicily, bounded on the west by Algeria (French colony), on the east by Tripoli (Italian colony), and on the south by the Sahara Desert. Average length, 300 miles; average breadth, 150 miles.

The population totals 2,200,000, consisting of 175,000 Europeans, and the rest of mixed native races, with Berbers and Arabs predominating. Exports are corn, olive oil, phosphates, iron, lead and zinc, wines, fruits and sponges.

The capital—Tunis—has a population of 180,000, of which a large number are Italians. The 1936 census showed that the French numbered over 108,000, and the Italians over 94,000. Though seven miles from the coast, it was made into a modern port by the French in 1893.

The northern part of Tunisia is hilly and well-watered, resembling, near the coast, the most fertile districts of Italy and Spain. The central plateau, however, is bleak and barren.

HISTORY

In 648-69 Tunisia was conquered by the Arabs, and the products of their fine civilization still exist in many parts today.

In the Middle Ages it became the scene of wars between Berbers, Normans and Franks. Christians lived in Tunis and paid tribute to the Arabs.

In the 16th century Tunisia was occupied for a short time by Spaniards, but captured by Turks in 1573 and made a province of the Turkish Empire.

In 1869 the Turkish governor, the Bey, went bankrupt and a triple "control" by British, French and Italian creditors was set up.

The Italians were the most deeply interested of the three Powers, having invested heavily and sent most settlers.

POWERS' MOVES

At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Bismarck secretly said to the French: "The Tunisian pear is ripe for the plucking"—to keep them busy in a region where Germany had no interests. Lord Salisbury promised the French a free hand in Tunis in return for French acquiescence in the British occupation of Cyprus.

In 1880 an important British-built railway in Tunisia was sold to Italians. The following year a French army, on the pretext of chasing an Algerian cattle-thief, marched on Tunis and forced the Turkish Bey to accept a French Protectorate.

The Italian Government, bitterly disappointed, joined the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria.

"Tunisia," said Sir Harry Johnstone in 1911, "may be pointed out as the best and wisest example of French administration over an alien land and race."

In the same year the Italians declared war on the Turks and captured the neighbouring territory of Tripoli. Mussolini, then a journalist, opposed the war.

ITALO-FRENCH AGREEMENT

Turning to recent years, we find that in 1929 the Italian Consul in Tunis made a demonstration in favour of Fascism.

In the Mussolini-Laval Pact of January, 1935, Mussolini agreed that Italian schools in Tunis should become French after 1945, and that Italian subjects should automatically become French after 1965. In return he was probably promised a free hand in Abyssinia. Owing to the Sanctions

afterwards imposed, the Italians seem to consider this promise was not kept.

Under the same agreement two small French territories on the Tunisian-Libyan border were handed over to the Italians.

Corsica

RULED by the French and situated 54 miles from the west coast of Italy, and 106 miles south-east of Nice, Corsica is 114 miles long and 52 miles wide.

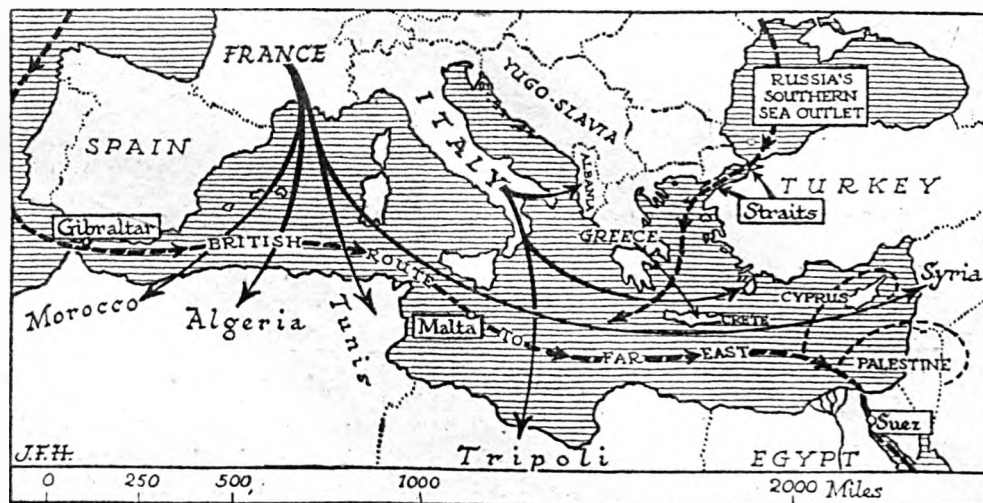
It is mountainous and well-wooded, and has some excellent harbours and a good climate. The 289,000 inhabitants are of Italian extraction.

MANY RULERS

There was feudal anarchy in Corsica from 828 to 1568 under Italian Popes and nobles, Genoese bankers, the Kings of Aragon and of France, and the native Corsicans; there followed a peace of exhaustion under the Italian Republic of Genoa.

In 1768 the French, having seized the island, signed a treaty with the Genoese Republic under which Corsica was sold to King Louis XV. The Corsican Assembly offered Sovereignty to King George III of England in 1794. Britain occupied the island for two years, their occupation being ended by a French expedition sent by Napoleon, himself a Corsican and then a General of the Republic.

On the abdication of Napoleon I, in 1814, Corsica was restored to the French King, Louis XVIII. It has since been ruled as part of France.



CONFLICTING INTERESTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

SINCE the "opening-up" of Africa by the Powers and in particular since the cutting of the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean has become the centre of various competing national interests. To France, direct communication with her north African empire is vital. Italy, too, has her interests in Tripoli and—via Suez—in her colonial possessions on the Red Sea; she, too, seeks undisputed control of the Adriatic. From west to east of the sea runs the British high-road to India, with its key-points at Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and Suez. Greece resents the Italian occupation of Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands, and the British occupation of Cyprus. Russia is concerned in the "balance of power" in the eastern Mediterranean, since the Straits (Bosporus and Dardanelles) leading from the Black Sea are the sea-outlet to her whole southern coast-line.

—From "An Atlas of Current Affairs," by J. F. Horrabin (Gollancz).

Since 1918, the custom of the vendetta, or blood-feud, resulting from centuries of anarchy, has been with difficulty suppressed by the French.

Nice

A FINE port on south coast of France about 20 miles from the Italian frontier, Nice has a population of 185,000, of which a very considerable proportion is of Italian extraction both for historical reasons and because of immigration due to labour shortage in France since 1918.

In 1626, Nice belonged to the Duke of Savoy, who greatly stimulated the commerce of the city by opening the port to the trade of all nations. It was besieged and taken by the French in the War of the Spanish Succession, but returned to the Duke of Savoy in 1713.

Nice was conquered by the French Republican armies in 1792 and remained a part of France till 1814, when it was again returned to the Duke of Savoy, now also King of Sardinia and Piedmont.

The French Emperor Napoleon III and Cavour, Premier of the Italian Kingdom of Savoy, Piedmont, and Sardinia met secretly at Plombières in 1858. Cavour agreed that in return for Napoleon III's armed help in the conquest of the Italian possessions of the Austrian Empire, Lombardy and Venetia, he would surrender to France the territories of Savoy and Nice.

In 1859 Napoleon III conquered Lombardy, but not Venetia, and so could not claim his reward (Savoy and Nice).

Cavour (in return for diplomatic aid from Napoleon III in the annexation of the Central Italian duchies) eventually handed over Savoy and Nice to France in 1860, thus making the St. Louis Gorge the frontier instead of the river Var. The territory now includes the important French naval harbour of Villefranche, between Nice and Beaulieu.

Napoleon III, though an absolute ruler, held a plebiscite after this annexation, in which over 25,000 electors out of 30,700 approved the change, which has not since been called in question.

From the Editor's Notebook

Saving the Sudetens: What the Czechs are Thinking: Decency in Germany

ONE of the most moving statements I have ever listened to was David Spreckley's plea for the emigration of the 4,000 Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, made at the meeting of the London PPU group leaders last Tuesday.

His case (that the PPU should take the lead in getting these despairing folk out of the shadow of the encroaching militarism they have always stoutly opposed) seems unanswerable.

This is no ordinary refugee problem or occasion for charity. The Sudetens were sacrificed at Munich in the pursuit of a policy approved by pacifists. The logical conclusion is that their lives and futures are a responsibility of every pacifist.

A Czech Speaks

WE continue to read of the changes in Czechoslovakia brought about as a result of the Munich agreement.

What of the tremendous change in the spirit of a people who had been taught for two decades to put all their faith in a collective system that proved to be a facade of a structure of alliances based on the shifting sands of conflicting national interests?

Let a Czech speak for himself. Here are extracts from a letter written to one of our American correspondents who was in Czechoslovakia last summer.

You cannot imagine how the spirit of our people has changed. They trust and believe nobody and nothing. They hate France and England.

"We trusted a Christian country, we trusted democracy, we trusted a democratic and Christian England and France: Christians have betrayed us; let us try another way." Or: "What Germany is doing is all right; we have been stupid not to do the same."

And, I am sorry to say, it is beginning. Yesterday I have read in *Narodni Politika*, the largest Czech Conservative paper: "The mentality of the Czech Brotherhood—i.e., Czech Protestantism—has led our country, for the second time,

nearly to a grave this mentality must have no more place in our national life."

Benesh is hated and Masaryk—it is better not to speak about that. In Slovakia, where everything is going much more quickly, you can see on all shops, signs like: "Here is a Jewish shop," or "Here is a Lutheran shop." It is not yet so bad in Bohemia, but the animosity is increasing. It is said that Germany wants to have the district of Domazlice in exchange for a coal district. We must do what Germany wants! We have no coal here now, Germany sends us the worst quality and for a double price.

And one reads in *The Times* that by pensioning off all Jewish teachers in German schools in Czechoslovakia as from the New Year the Government is "carrying out Germany's request for cultural coordination with the Reich of the German minority of Czechoslovakia."

The German Character

IN support of the "masterly analysis of German character by Hr. C. W. Rubenson in *The Times*," which was summarized in the Christmas number of *Peace News*, Mr. D. B. McLaren quoted (in a letter to *The Times*) a friend who declared that a large employer, ostensibly an ardent Nazi, assured him in private that he disapproved the treatment of the Jews, and seemed pathetically anxious to learn that the English people did not believe in German approval. He stated that in spite of all the religious persecution the churches were fuller than ever, and added—laying his hand on his own heart—"you cannot kill the things of the heart."

Reports from other, quite independent sources confirm the impression that by no means all Germans approve of the Nazi treatment of the Jews. The American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature reports several incidents which show this.

"While crossing the street," writes one Jewish woman, "I passed a police officer who recognized that I was a Jewess, since I look very Jewish. He stopped me and said 'Cheer up! Things will change!' A somewhat similar incident was told me

personally by a friend who had just been to Germany. He was stopped by a policeman for a minor traffic offence.

Official "business" done, they got on to a pleasanter line of conversation. But when the Englishman ventured a remark about the treatment of the Jews, the policeman looked decidedly uncomfortable and said hurriedly, "Don't let's talk about that."

The Christian Pacifist

THOSE who, looking for material to support them in their faith and work as Christian pacifists, had found the monthly *Reconciliation* an indispensable aid will find *The Christian Pacifist* at least its equal. *The Christian Pacifist* is the form under which *Reconciliation* starts the New Year.

The same size as *Reconciliation*, *The Christian Pacifist* is also very similar in content and appearance. The cover, having changed back from the thin brownish one of recent months, is now not unlike its contemporary, the *Christian Century*.

The paper has been renamed, the Editor (the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon) tells me, "partly because the word 'reconciliation' has come to mean in the public mind some form of patching up or superficial appeasement."

All the same, it seems to me an unfortunate change. Certainly it is to be hoped that the movement whose organ the magazine is will not follow suit. For I believe that the word "reconciliation"—particularly in conjunction with the word "fellowship"—is the ideal name for a movement toward peace.

There are, of course, other reasons for the change. But I hope they are better than that the word "reconciliation" has been misused. For I should be hard put to it to find two more abused words than "Christian" and "pacifist"—unless they were "peace" and "defence"!

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HOW GERMANS VIEW OUR POLICY

THE lack of a clear line of policy was among the characteristics attributed to British foreign policy in an article in the German newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* on Christmas Day.

The writer, the newspaper's London correspondent, was giving an interpretation of British policy at long range, and attributed the lack of a clear line to the fact that responsible Ministers regarded public opinion formed by party agitation as more important than true statesmanship.

The chief aim of British policy today was to fortify world peace. British Governments were today ready to pay a price if they felt that they had thereby contributed toward assuring peace.

"DEMAND FOR REARMAMENT"

Notwithstanding the pleasure and gratitude with which the English people greeted the removal of the threat of war after Munich, they nevertheless felt, the article continued, that their country had not been strong enough in time of danger and had therefore suffered a reverse. In consequence, they demanded a great acceleration of the rearmament programme.

Mr. Chamberlain had shown the will to lead on several occasions, but he dared not refuse this demand. Perhaps also he did not wish to refuse it because it tended toward national revival.

The writer believed that the mighty machine which the Government are now seeking to establish would be used by Great Britain only for defensive purposes.

PRIMARY INTEREST

He thought there was some truth in the claim that England had returned to a policy of isolation seeing that she would fight in future only when her vital interests were endangered. Among these must be included the integrity of certain other nations.

The protection of her Empire and of her world trade was England's primary interest, although, in contrast to former periods, she no longer sought to extend her possessions. Moreover, in present circumstances she was no longer in a position to protect her vital interests alone. She had, therefore, concluded with France a community of interests which, as Mr. Chamberlain recently said, binds more firmly than a treaty.

EUROPEAN COLLABORATION

The writer was of opinion that England would pursue an elastic policy in order to reach an understanding with Germany and Italy.

America urged her to "opt for the Western Powers," but leading British statesmen realized that their country could count upon American help in a European war only after she had already received wounds which could not be healed.

She therefore preferred collaboration between the four great European Powers and believed that no secure world peace was possible so long as serious differences existed in Europe.

"Peace" Policy That Is Veiled Militarism

THE argument that pacifism means undertaking "with an air of religious duty never to defend your brother against wrong if the wrong-doer uses force," has been answered by Mahadev Desai, editor of Mr. Gandhi's weekly, *Harijan*.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, joint president of the League of Nations Union, who used this argument, also declared that "the nations that for the sake of peace are ready to live according to law and accord justice to others are a vast majority. They have vast economic and military strength. Their united will would be, I think, irresistible so long as it operates along peaceful channels for liberal and lawful ends."

Dr. Murray's definition of pacifism is described by Mahadev Desai as "a travesty of the principle of dynamic non-violence," and a submissiveness that "must be eschewed by all nations believing in the rejection of the doctrine of violence."

VEILED MILITARISM

As for the power of the "peaceful" nations, continues the article in *Harijan*, dynamic non-violence does not boast of such things.

"To talk of operating along peaceful channels with a consciousness of one's economic and military strength is veiled militarism! Dynamic non-violence relies entirely on moral strength, on its refusal to flinch from the path of justice and its readiness to accept its consequences in full. It is only that non-violence, no matter how 'isolated' or individual, that can save a

French Pacifist Sent To Jail for Six-Years-Old Tract

From Our Own Correspondent

PARIS.

AFTER being held in prison nearly three months for his energetic peace propaganda in and around Paris last September, Sail Mohamed, French-Arabian pacifist, was tried just before Christmas and sentenced to eighteen months.

Sail Mohamed is a striking personality. Born in Algiers as the son of a wealthy Arabian merchant and landowner, early in life he renounced all worldly goods and inheritance from his family, and was disinherited by his father for becoming a pacifist. He has often suffered imprisonment for his convictions. He is now forty years old.

Among the pamphlets and leaflets he distributed last September, was one which he himself had published in 1932, when he was editing the journal *L'Eveil Social* (The Social Awakening). At that time the tract had not resulted in action by the authorities. But now the court of Pontoise has ruled that he should be punished for this six-year-old tract.

Another of the leaflets he was arrested for distributing was entitled, *Workers, refuse to take part in massacre!* This was originally published as an article in *Libertaire* by the comrades Leclerc Gaudin and Andre Scheck, who were arrested for the "crime" and have also been in prison since September.

All the above were charged with "provocation of military persons to disobedience."

2-YEAR-OLD SENTENCE

In 1936 Louis Loreal was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for anti-militaristic propaganda, having been indicted for "provocation and insubordination." Our contemporary, *La Patrie Humaine*, organized a protest which received 150,000 signatures in favour of quashing the sentence.

The Minister of Justice at that time, M. Vincent Auriol, complied with this public demand. But in October last Loreal was arrested for his propaganda against war and now has to serve the four months.

This was followed by the arrest of Leclerc, Fangieres, and Cleret who had been distributing and pasting anti-war leaflets during the night.

In the trial at the end of November they were most ably defended by our comrades, the lawyers Suzanne Levy and Fourrier.

Their speeches were so touching that many listeners in court openly wept.

Only the judges were hard as stone. They condemned Leclerc to one year's imprisonment with a fine of 500 francs (if this fine is not paid the prison sentence will be lengthened accordingly); Fangieres and Cleret were each sentenced to eight months' imprisonment and fined 100 francs.

For the same "crime" Roger Coudry was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment a few days later.

BARBARIC SENTENCE

Most impressive of all was the trial of our comrade "Pierre Piller," whose real name, Gaston Laval, had unfortunately to be revealed to the authorities.

As a very young man (he is now 43 years old) he escaped as an anti-militarist when the war broke out in 1914. In Buenos Aires he continued his studies.

Several years ago his love for France and the work for peace there drove him back and, living under the name of Piller, he published several brilliant articles under the pseudonym of "Max Stephens."

He was identified by the authorities through an accident and so, twenty years after the "war to end war," his trial took place. The ferocity of the judges showed itself glaringly and cynically: they sentenced him to 4½ years, simply taking the duration of the War as the length of the sentence!

Gaston Laval is the father of three children, the oldest of whom is not yet 12. His wife is an ardent sympathizer.

It will be remembered that the Popular Front Government of the Socialist Leon Blum, in its election campaign in 1936, solemnly pledging itself to the amnesty of all deserters of the World War—still persecuted in France—and all anti-militarists then in prison.

That pledge was not kept and all reminders of it proved of no avail.

At the beginning of December there was the trial of Duvernet and Jourdain, the latter being the editor of the trade union journal *Reveil Syndicaliste*. They were sentenced to six months solely for agitation against war in word and print.

On account of their articles against war, and because the articles were placarded, Lecoin and Faucier were condemned to six months' imprisonment and fined 200 francs. Because they distributed anti-war literature Fremont, Ander and Vintrignier received sentences of 6 months together with a fine of 200 francs. Scheck, who was caught with a load of anti-war leaflets in a taxi, received three months.

Two of our comrades still await sentence, one is Eugene Lagot, who is at present in the Prison de Santé, Paris, and the other is Mohamed.

NEWS FROM ABROAD

New Zealand Labour Joins Arms Race

NEW ZEALAND'S Labour Government, declares *Peace Record*, of Christchurch, "is running in the armament race as vigorously as if it were a capitalistic concern."

"Last year the vote for war preparations was excessive, amounting to £1,264,530; this year it has gone up by a leap to £2,000,000, and the Prime Minister is exulting over the fact that the expenditure will be £3,000,000!"

Instead of helping the armament firms abroad, and "assisting in keeping alive one of the most vicious and gigantic monopolies in existence, the Government could have built nearly 300 houses, costing £700 each."

"REAL PEACE ADVENTURE"

Alternatively, the £2,000,000 could have been used to set up in all countries bordering on the Pacific Bureaux of Peace (or of Friendship), where international questions could be considered and plans for peace laid down. The psychological value of such action would be great.

"New Zealand," adds the journal, "occupies a unique position, geographically, socially and productively to set out on a disarmament programme, and our Labour Government, with all the traditions of social and industrial welfare behind it, could with reason and justice lead the world in a real peace adventure."

NEEDY CHILDREN INHERIT OTHERS' WEALTH

SUMMER colonies for poor children have been established in Sweden with money left by persons who died without leaving a will.

An Inheritance Law adopted 10 years ago excluded cousins and more remote relatives from inheriting in such cases, and since then the Government has "inherited" £286,425, which has been used in establishing 57 summer colonies and in assisting 53 others. Thirty permanent children's homes have also been established with money from the same source, and 64 others have benefited financially.

Other institutions which have been assisted include crèches, kindergartens, child welfare bureaux, technical schools, Boy Scout centres, and social welfare organizations.

Money received by the State under the law is not allowed to become part of its income, and the State has powers to renounce its right in special circumstances in favour of a relative or other person connected with the deceased.

"HOME" OF THE I.V.S.P.

The address of the headquarters of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, referred to in a news item last week, headed "Peace Volunteers from Sixteen Nations," should have read: 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

4%

AND NO BUMBLEPUPPY

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The Colonies: Hold, Surrender or Pool?

Replies to Sir Henry Page Croft

By LORD SANDERSON

I HAVE read Sir Henry Page Croft's article in the issue of December 30 with great interest. With many of his facts I agree. But the article misses the fundamental points which have led to the necessity of considering the whole question of colonies in relation to the maintenance of peace.

The Germans demand the return of their colonies. Why? Because they were deprived of them by a breach of faith on the part of the allies (for which we, as one of them, are partly responsible) after the Armistice. And a stable peace will never be secured until this wrong has been righted.

It has not been proposed, as far as I know, to hand over parts of the British Empire to other Powers contrary to the wishes of the native inhabitants. But it has been proposed that an international conference should be called, and that the question of pooling all colonies under an international body should be discussed.

Sir Henry writes of "some non-defined international body," and again of "some ephemeral international body." But definition should not be beyond the wit of man, and there is no reason why, if it were properly constituted and accepted, the proposed international body should be merely ephemeral.

LEAVE NO ALTERNATIVE

It is true that at present the dictators regard this plan as unacceptable. But it does not follow that this must always be the case. The plan may not yet have been

By JOHN SCANLON

MOST readers of *Peace News*, I think, will recognize that Sir Henry Page Croft was sincere when he said in his article last week:—

Peace is the greatest need of the world, and those who are ready to risk war instead of seeking every possible adjustment of differences are indeed criminal and unworthy of the claim to statesmanship.

One evidence of his sincerity is that he does not spend his time "snapping and snarling" at Germany as a means to peace. What he says, in effect, is "what we have, we hold," which may be sound Conservative policy, but may be just as futile as a method of ensuring peace as the method of snapping and snarling.

Nevertheless it is the majority view of the Conservative Party. The atmosphere created by the German-hating campaign of the "progressive" parties also has, we may take it, made it the view of the majority of the electors.

GRIM PROSPECTS

If therefore, Germany is as determined to have her colonies back as Britain is to hold on to them, the prospect is indeed grim.

It is fairly certain, too, that no British Government at this moment dare propose transferring the former German colonies to an International Commission under the League of Nations. So long as the League is dominated by the purely political mind I, personally, would not wish to see the transfer take place.

But this negative attitude provides no solution if Germany insists on demanding their return to her. The imperative need, therefore remains for free and frank talks between men of understanding in both countries. If, as Sir Henry Page Croft says, colonies are always run at a loss, the present realist rulers of Germany may be willing to accept free and open access to the raw materials on a basis of goods for goods.

After all Germany had no greater moral right to her colonies in 1914 than we have today. All she had was the right of possession.

Finally, I wish Sir Henry Page Croft had presented a more convincing case for the natives than he did. To say that the natives made an "extraordinary spontaneous" protest against the lowering of the British flag would have been extraordinary had it been spontaneous. For men who, as he says, can neither read nor write, to draft and print their own slogans was extraordinary.

fully worked out, and if a reasonable arrangement could be agreed to by all the Powers possessing colonies and put before the dictators without any alternative, their opposition might give way.

This at any rate appears to be a more hopeful policy than simply shouting in chorus: "Not an inch."

Sir Henry says that peace is the greatest need of the world. But we shall not have lasting peace until the grievances of the "have-not" Powers have been removed, and in order to accomplish this, the "haves" must be prepared to make real sacrifices.

Sir Henry thinks that we should maintain the status quo as to colonies, and that any attempt to depart from it would lead not to peace, but to war. With regard to this, the following questions must be asked: Supposing the Germans, backed by their allies, are willing to risk war for the return of their colonies, can we be certain of being able to defend our empire against them? And even if we were victorious, would not the war, which would be a world war, be more disastrous to the native races than a peaceful settlement which might involve some change in the political control of certain colonies?

RISKS INVOLVED

The position cannot safely be left as it is, and surely the risks of an attempt at a peaceful solution, even if sacrifices are involved, are less than the risks of another world war.

With regard to the economic factors, there is much more to be said than Sir Henry suggests. It is one thing for a country not possessing colonies to be able to get the materials it requires by trade, and quite another to own and control the sources of supply.

The countries in political control of colonies can develop their resources to suit themselves. They can control the output. They can erect monopolies. They can impose discriminatory tariffs. They can at any moment cut off supplies from the "have-nots."

To say that we can continue to own a quarter of the earth's surface without the possibility of injury to a country like Germany, which owns nothing outside her own territory in Europe, is no solution to a problem which, if not settled, will sooner or later endanger the peace of the world.

SIR HENRY PAGE CROFT'S article gave a clear picture of the minds of the old-style imperialists. The picture is clear, but the minds, if it may be said without disrespect, are confused.

The robust acquisitive imperialism of fifty years ago has vanished. No longer do decent people speak with a throb in the voice of the White Man's Burden, in pure ignorance that that burden was assumed to protect the trader and settler who made his profit, often enough, by slave-trade, "black-birding," traffic in liquor, taxation to drive natives to plantation labour.

These methods ran through several centuries of empires, and are not today all extinct, even in the British Empire.

Nowadays most people are aware of the long tally of debt which the imperial nations owe the subject races, in moral and material damage, in exploitation, in some cases in extermination.

LUST FOR POSSESSION

But the old-style thinkers, who have abandoned the belief in simple grab to Italy and Japan, still have no conception that countries inhabited by alien races may not remain permanently subject. They are still obsessed by the lust for possession.

This appetite drives Sir Henry Page Croft, for instance, into error. He implies, by talking of the British flag in Tanganyika and the Cameroons, that those territories are part of the British Empire. They are not.

Repeated statements by the British and other governments at the League, especially at the League of Nations Assembly of 1929, have reaffirmed the Covenant position that mandatory Powers do not have sovereignty over the peoples in these areas, who are not their subjects. This principle is most important, because where it is honestly applied, as in Iraq, the mandated nation is deliberately prepared for self-government, and its emancipation is achieved as quickly as possible.

Contrast is supplied by Syria and still more by Palestine, where for various reasons the covenant has not been carried out.

CONDITION OF NATIVES

Yet even in the African and Pacific mandated areas, is Sir Henry prepared to urge that the natives are worse off than in British colonies? Let him carry his mind back to the Joint Parliamentary Commission on Closer Union in East Africa.

There the Tanganyika African witnesses expressed the clearest reasons for their refusal to envisage union with Kenya. So, for that matter, did the Uganda witnesses. In fact, the British mandated areas are governed as well as the best colonies of their rulers.

An exception must be made for the German plantations and the Cameroons River, where the

pre-war mistake of alienation of land to non-Africans has been perpetuated.

The whole point of the mandatory system is not administration by some "never-defined international body." The task of the impartial and expert Mandates Commission is to supervise administration by single States and to see that they live up to a minimum standard, at least, of good government.

Many experts believe that there would be room, within these administrations, for officials of other nations than those of the governing Powers; but a single principle of development is essential, and can only be supplied by the overriding authority of one State in each area.

PROTECTION AGAINST RULERS

The mandatory system rests upon the conception that "colonial" areas do not belong to imperial States, but will belong to their own native peoples. At present, the "backward races" need protection by the ruling nations against the ruling nations. Only a white man's government can cope with the rapacity of the white man.

But in the end, and an end much nearer than many people realize, the subject races will be ready to rule themselves. Then, whether they choose to remain freely as partners in their old Empires, or, like Iraq and Egypt, to assume complete independence, must be their own affair. No democratic nation can deny the liberty to others which it claims for itself.

"OPEN DOOR" POLICY

The "Open Door" against which Sir Henry tilts on behalf of Imperial Preference, is only in part a safeguard of all foreign States trading with subject races. It is far more a safeguard for the natives themselves.

It is of the utmost importance that people whose earnings are infinitesimal should be able to buy in the cheapest markets—and, if that market is Japanese, not British, then let British industry produce as cheap products.

Protection in Africa, both in French and British colonies, is only too apt to mean that the people cannot buy necessities, or can only buy them of bad quality and dear. It would be a great boon to Africa if the Conventional Basin of the Congo provision of the Open Door were extended to the whole region between the Deserts in the North, and South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in the South.

The whole of imperial policy of empires laying any claim to civilization must be directed to the development and welfare of the native peoples. And that objective is far more important than any aim of encouraging colonists from abroad, or of placating with European rivalries. This is why the question of German, Japanese, Polish, Italian, or, for that matter, British claims to rule other races is essentially secondary.

THE TEST

There can be only one criticism of such claims, and that is, "Will they rule the people well and prepare them for freedom?" Well, the Italians in Cyrenaica have reduced its population by nine-tenths, a feat far surpassing any undoubted oppression of the Palestinian Arabs. And the German policy of "intensive exploitation or keeping the native in his place," would have disastrous effects.

There is no place for emancipation in the Nazi philosophy, nor for education for a race which they set at the bottom of that queer pyramid crowned by "the Aryan." Therefore it seems to me out of the question to betray more people, as we betrayed the Ethiopians, into the hands of Fascist-Nazi tyranny.

On the other hand, there are certain great problems common to most tropical dependencies. Health, nutrition, prevention of disease, production for home use and export, commercial relations, labour conditions, land tenure; all these need expert handling in the industrial and agricultural revolution those regions are undergoing. No intelligent planning, for instance, would have allowed our West Indies to rot for the lack of its sugar market.

A body of men chosen from all States interested in colonial matters might well be given the task of planning a concerted policy for the imperial Powers. International supervision by the Mandates Commission has already immensely increased knowledge of colonial problems and raised the standard of the public demand for good government. It might be extended to those dependencies of Britain, France, and other empires to which the legal pledge of ultimate emancipation would represent an advance in status.

In a British Dominion

"AN Englishman's home is his castle, but a Quebec man's home may be his gaol. Under a Padlock Law, the Attorney-General may order the closing of any house used 'to propagate Communism or Bolshevism,' and on Saturday a man was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for having the audacity to break the padlocks on his own home."—*News Chronicle*, 14.11.38.

GEORGE LANSBURY replies - p. 1
WILFRED WELLOCK replies - p. 6

Youth Congress Opposes Imperialism

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ALL EYES ON AMERICA!

Isolation, Indignation and Intervention: Forces That Are Shaping Mr. Roosevelt's Policy

In a Presidential message to the 76th session of the US Congress, which met in Washington this week, Mr. Roosevelt was expected to make a declaration on foreign policy as important as any from an American President since the War. In this topical and informative article

by **Geoffrey West**

are shown the forces at work in shaping that policy and the great opportunity before President Roosevelt to lead the world to peace.

ALL eyes today are on the United States of America—in hope, in fear, in questioning.

Franklin Roosevelt's frank messages to Hitler at the height of the September crisis; the American outcry of horror at the new Nazi persecution of the Jews; the loan to China; the sending of food to Government Spain; Secretary Ickes's outspoken condemnation of Nazi Germany, followed on the part of the Washington Government by a refusal to censure him so blunt that it becomes an endorsement of his words; the anti-Nazi resolutions of the Lima Conference; the decision to reconstitute and make permanent the United States Atlantic Fleet; the intention to create an immense air force (some say as large as that of any two of the three anti-Comintern Powers added together)—all these things make people everywhere ask whether the traditional USA policy of sitting-on-the-fence is not changing, perhaps has already changed.

Isolation and Intervention

THE less nimble-witted have always found the American attitude a little difficult to understand, with its alternations of joining-in and backing-out.

America joined in the Great War, throwing into the scale-pan the weight of new armies and additional munitions which undoubtedly turned the balance at a critical time. Then, in 1920, having meanwhile contributed to the Peace Treaty, through her President Wilson, its one constructive element, the League of Nations, she backed out, refused membership, rejected responsibility. In 1923, 1926, and as late as 1935, she even refused ratification of the protocol of adherence to the Hague Court of International Justice, or (as in 1926) ratified it only with such reservation as effectively nullified it. Again and again the common cry has been for abstention, for withdrawal, for isolation.

Yet intervention, of one mild kind and another (whether loans or protests), has perpetually gone on. America could not and cannot deny her relatively new-found position as one of the great imperialist world-Powers, with interests and responsibilities in every section of the globe.

Indignation

THE two words—"isolation," "intervention"—are the poles between which American foreign policy, and still more home feeling toward foreign policy, has persistently swung. It is part of the world's tragedy that between them one must set, as a main motivating force towards one or the other, another word—indignation.

Not love, not friendship, not compassion—but unimaginative indignation. These gentler emotions may affect: they cannot effect.

Probably it was after the Armistice of 1918 and the Versailles settlement that America reached her mood of purest isolationism. She was too weary of war, and of the Europe associated with war, to be indignant. In that mood she turned her back on the League.

And as the evils, the injustices of the Peace Treaty became evident, as the promise of general Allied disarmament was set aside, as all could see that Europe was still no better than playing at its old game of power-politics and nothing but power-politics, disgust deepened still more. Finally, the Great Depression in its more immediate effects only came to crown the whole process. There were quite enough troubles at home, thank you, the average American felt, without looking for them abroad.

Effect of Fascism

IF that feeling has now changed, anyway in its extremity, what has changed it?

Not, one may be sure, Rooseveltian tutoring alone, though the President has been continuously anti-isolationist: not even a great popular leader can carry his people against their inclination wholly unaided by exterior events.

Not, altogether, conscious interest either, though that too has played its part. The recent American upsurge of anti-Fascist indignation goes deeper down than this.

Fascism affronts America—all that America most deeply is. The USA, I have maintained elsewhere not long ago, is the most truly democratic of all nations. Let me quote my own summary of reasons for thinking so:

Alone among the major nations America was conceived as well as brought forth in democracy. Its original colonists were largely puritan protestants who, however many of them may have longed for no more than to establish local theocracies with themselves as petty popes, could not escape the insoluble spiritual link between protestantism and democracy as expressions of the same attitude in parallel spheres.

Later its separate identity was achieved in a much more naked democratic aspiration, holding "these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights."

And as it began, so, within the limits allowed by human stupidity, folly, and inertia, it has continued. Even more than a great American was Lincoln a typical one, and his Gettysburg address has lived because it echoed the authentic desire of a million men's hearts, while the major American prophets and poets—Emerson, Whitman, Melville—have been in their varied ways the advocates of the most nakedly uncompromising democracy the world has ever heard declared.

Here we have something to which, however crudely, even contradictorily, it be expressed, the authoritarian State must be anathema. American individuals, or individual crowds, may persecute and even kill individual negroes; that fact does not render the Nazi State persecution of the Jews a whit less damnable to any one true American.

In some cases, it is true, indignation still turns toward isolation. Immediately after Munich, the drive that way was very strong.

That impulse might well have carried the day had not the Nazis, with an incredible psychological stupidity, launched their attack upon the Jews. Isolation went down before the avalanche of indignation. The sight of human suffering on such a scale, and so deliberately and cold-bloodedly brought about, was too much for a democratic nation to stand. The hand of every American Interventionist was immeasurably strengthened. The USA, said Raymond Gram Swing, in one of his recent broadcast talks, is today looking on Collective Security with favour for the first time in its history.

Roosevelt's Chance to Lead

WHETHER we should rejoice or sorrow at this change must wait upon its consequence.

If American Intervention is to mean, as seems only all too likely, once again

merely a throwing of more and more armaments into the scale-pans of power-politics, then the last result may be worse than the first. Such a move would only strengthen the reactionary war-elements (of Right and Left alike) in each and every anti-Nazi country.

Should it mean, on the other hand, a willingness to initiate and play a full part in a radical world-wide solution of pressing world-wide problems, that would be a very different matter.

No nation, any more than any individual, has a right to Isolation in a world where suffering spreads so wide. Intervention is a common human duty, and the indignation which impels to such action is wholly good so long as it can rise imaginatively above itself by love and compassion, and so direct itself toward understanding, against causes and things, and for effects and individuals. But only so long.

If American intervention is to be of any other kind, rather must we hope that the pendulum will swing again, though many of us will watch it with despair, feeling the last hope gone. President Roosevelt has proved himself more than once a man of imagination. Is he a man of sufficient imagination?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Colonies: German Claims and Natives' Wishes

BELIEVING that every people has a right to self-determination, I would suggest that Germany's former colonies should not be returned to that country without consulting the inhabitants of the territory in question, first.

We should, in a much truer sense of the word, be atoning for previous mistakes if we were to adjust first and foremost, economic inequalities between the nations.

Simultaneously with the drop of the English sterling rate, in September, 1931, Germany's export trade came to a complete standstill with all the disastrous results of an economic deadlock following in its wake. Germany was unable to adjust the exchange rate of the German mark according to the sterling rate, as this would have increased her sterling and dollar debts in the same proportion as the mark rate was reduced.

It was during this period of economic depression that the National Socialist Party in Germany came into power, whose high-handedness in politics has since been a continuous obstacle to a friendly relationship between Britain and Germany.

SYLVIA KLEMM.

"Woodside," Danesbury Park,
Welwyn, Herts.

"Guns Before Food"

I have been on the transitional benefit for three months or so and during Christmas week I was struck off the UAB and placed on the "gardeners' dole." My money was reduced from 31s. to 24s. When I have paid my way I have eleven shillings left for food.

It seems to me that the slogan "guns before food" is here as well as in Germany. Here is my budget:

Rent	..	..	..	8s.	2d.
Coal	..	..	..	2s.	0d.
Milk (for child)	..	..	..	2s.	0d.
Light	..	..	..	1s.	0d.
Total	..	..	..	13s.	2d.

J. PAYNE.

51 Stockwell Grove, Knaresboro'.

An Appreciation

We should like to express our appreciation of Ethel Mannin's inspiring Christmas message on the front page of *Peace News* (December 23) and its courageous statement of her present views on war.

We think it is one of the best articles that has appeared in *Peace News* and some of the truest words that she has written.

QUEENIE HARROD.
ALAN HOGGETT.
AFORDA MURRAY.
JOAN KELSEY.
TERENCE LANCASTER.

Overthway, Godshill, Fordingbridge.

FOR over a year, the International African Service Bureau, an organization run exclusively by Negroes, has been endeavouring to make known the real wishes, needs, and problems of Africans and peoples of African descent within the Empire.

Its activities have been largely concerned with publicizing the immediate issues affecting the African peoples, such as the annexation of the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland to the Union of South Africa, and the recent labour unrest in the West Indies and British Guiana. The Bureau has interested itself in helping in the organizing of trade unions, cooperatives, and civil liberties' associations, and in adult education in various colonies, as practical means to improve the terrible conditions, social and economic, some of which have been revealed to the British public recently.

As a non-party organization, the Bureau is dependent upon its adherents for financial support. Since the overwhelming majority of these are shockingly paid Colonial workers and peasants who are hardly able to exist upon their earnings, the Bureau is faced with great financial difficulties.

We would like to stress that although from time to time groups of white people have formed to publicize the problem of the colonial peoples to the British public, this is the first effort by Africans themselves to state their social, economic, and political case to the world. The effort is such a worthy one that we ask all who believe in social justice and the rights of man to support financially this important work.

All donations should be sent to the treasurer of the International African Service Bureau, c/o Westminster Bank, Bayswater Branch, 74 Westbourne Grove, London, W.2.

W. J. EROWN.
A. CREECH JONES.
J. F. HORRABIN.
ETHEL MANNIN.
D. N. PRITT.
REGINALD REYNOLDS.
A. MAUDE ROYDEN.
REGINALD SORESENSEN.

Developing Dominions

I do not know what your readers' views were with regard to the account in the daily press of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's speech in the House of Commons on December 14 in which he said that "Britain must devise a policy for putting up the birthrate for the highest imperial reasons—to develop the Dominions with British born workers."

It was further stated that "unless we can do something on these lines, this island by itself cannot supply the whole of the immigration population which is needed for developing the Dominions."

Putting up the birthrate may be the only solution an imperialist can find for this problem, but surely from a Christian point of view the only thing to do is to throw aside this "dog in the manger" attitude and share what we cannot use ourselves with those overpopulated countries who are crying out in their desperate need for means of expansion.

JULIA HEFTEL.

115 De Vere Gardens, Ilford, Essex.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Editor's Point of View

If you want Peace, PREPARE—for Peace

HOWEVER little justification there may seem to be for it, if we look only at the events going on immediately around us, hope can be the only possible mood in which to look forward to the things that are before us this year. Even though so sober and unsensational a journal as *The Times* refers casually to recurring crises (in a report on future policy in France) as if they were accepted and unavoidable close seasons of the normal affairs of state, no work for peace can have much meaning if it does not have some grounding in hope. Nor can it have any prospect of success if vague desire is mistaken for hope. For hope means trust, which is a very different thing, a positive, action-inspiring thing.

We are urged, for instance, "to prepare for the worst and to hope for the best." Unless "hope" here is a misused word, where "wish" would be more accurate, it is simply a contradiction in terms. There is no sense whatever in preparing for the worst if you trust the best to happen. It is precisely because you do not trust the best to happen that you prepare for its not happening.

The phrase, of course, is used in connexion with measures of so-called defence. It gives an air of good sense to a business which most men know in their hearts, and in their saner moments admit, is sheer madness. It serves to justify in so many minds an assumption that threats and dangers to peace are as fortuitous as are the threats and dangers of thunderclouds and storms to the enjoyment of a picnic. In such circumstances there is some sense in preparing for the worst (with protective clothing and the assurance of a nearby shelter) while hoping for the best—though hoping can only mean wishing.

For the same reasons, of course, any suggestion that the worst should not be prepared for is assumed to mean that it should not be avoided. In terms of the "defence" issue, again, it is interpreted as madness, in so far as it is assumed to be a refusal to protect oneself, and cowardice, in so far as it is taken to be an even less excusable refusal to help one's fellows. But if to hope (trust) for the best necessitates refusal to prepare for the worst, it is not only because the two are mutually contradictory but because to hope for the best is the only rational way of avoiding the worst.

There is an equally erroneous assumption, however, that if the worst may happen quite fortuitously, so may the best! But if to hope means to trust, to be reliant on success, it must be only the beginning of action. It must be the inspiration of a sustained effort to bring the best about. If it is that, it will be the power that sustains the effort.

If hope is to be the keynote of all effort for peace this year, it must mean all that. It is not enough just to wish for peace, nor even very helpful to profess that wish on any and every occasion. Is there a statesman of any country of the world who has not made some such profession—often while in the very act of waging war? The removal of friction and misunderstanding between the peoples and the ending of unfairness and injustice must be attempted in the confidence that they are possible, and that, together with other preparations, they will result in peace. Even if there were any sense in also preparing for failure, such preparations for peace would leave no time for it!

Let no one think that those preparations are merely, so to speak, the preparations of a conference hall and of an agenda to confer about. They must include that; but much preparation is also needed to get the delegates there. Essential to a really vital creative peace (though it is fortunately not a prior condition for the substitution of agreement for war) is the deeper preparation of the hearts and minds of men that will enable them to respond to the latent powers within them and realize their infinite possibilities for good.

Humphrey S. Moore

The Empire and World Peace

by WILFRED WELLOCK

IT must be very comforting to believe, as does Sir Henry Page Croft, that all is well with the British Empire: that it renders a great service to foreign nations, an even greater service to the native populations over whom it exercises dominion, and perhaps the greatest service of all to the cause of peace.

Let us examine these claims rather closely.

Sir Henry concludes that British Imperialism makes a valuable contribution to world well-being and thus to world peace when it allows foreign countries to send goods to the annual value of £129,000,000 into its colonies and protectorates. At the same time, the United Kingdom exports annually to these same territories goods to the value of £61,000,000.

Now if trade went by population, the share of the United Kingdom in this total trade of £190,000,000 would be about £5,000,000. The difference between that amount and £61,000,000 represents the power of imperialism.

THE question that arises here is how such a situation can be regarded as conducing to world peace. Germany, Italy and Japan, looking at these figures are likely to conclude that, seeing the conquest of territory means that one can increase one's proportion of trade from a fortieth to a third, they must possess empires so long as others possess them.

Hence the aggression of the last seven years, and the new threats of aggression that are appearing almost daily.

Now it is all very well for Sir Henry Page Croft to say that we might exercise our full right of conquest (he implies but does not use those words) and refuse to allow foreign countries to send any goods whatever into our Colonial Empire, but he surely realizes that were we to do so, aggression on the part of the "have-not" Powers would be even more determined and ruthless than it is.

Nor should Sir Henry lay too much stress on the cost of maintaining our Empire. That cost is borne, as he well knows, not for love but for business. We conquered India, as Lord Brentwood once said, not in order to carry Christianity to that country, but in order to capture its market for our cotton goods, &c.

WHAT most astonishes me in Sir Henry's article, however, is his ignorance of or complacency toward the wrongs from which imperialism seems unable to escape. Those wrongs are so numerous and so widespread that one can only conclude that few men are able to resist the temptation to exploit the cheap labour of backward peoples, and to keep the latter in a backward state for the sake of gain.

Here I must distinguish between civil servants and business men. Our civil servants in Africa, e.g., have rendered and are rendering a great service to the native populations. But very often that service is curbed and even negated by policies which the interests of Europeans, either as settlers or business men, are able to enforce. It thus transpires that evils arise which cause growing discontent, and in the end lead to open revolt. Hence the recent trouble in our South American Colonies, and the growing discontent in East, Central and South Africa.

It is exactly one hundred years since slavery was abolished in our South American Colonies, yet astonishingly little advancement has been made in the health, social, political, and cultural conditions of the people in the intervening century. The present situation gives us nothing to boast about, and affords but another illustration of the evil inherent in all imperialism.

IN Africa, as I pointed out in these columns some weeks ago, a great conflict is in progress between two opposed policies regarding the position and treatment of the natives. The issue is whether the native is to be allowed to

develop into a full-fledged citizen in all respects, to possess unrestricted industrial, social and political rights, or whether he is destined to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the white race.

Now it is precisely because it is a menace to world and also to racial peace that colonial imperialism must be superseded by a more just and humane policy. It is proposed to substitute for national control, the giving of assistance by an International Board, under the aegis of the League of Nations, which would operate in conjunction with an Advisory Council composed of representatives of the different sections of natives in colonial territories.

The details are open to discussion. Needless to say, no changes would be made without the consent of the populations concerned. In this connexion, it ought to be stated that while the natives of Africa object to being handed over to Germany, they object equally strongly, to being handed over to the rule of Kenya or South Africa.

The beginning of salvation is in facing the facts, whereas the attitude represented by Sir Henry appears to me to glide over all the facts which make the problem of imperialism the most vital issue of our time.

"FEAR NOT!"

THE cowering of the primitive before the nameless horror that hides in the shadows is as nothing to the delirious fearing that is paralysing us today. We fear old age, we fear poverty, we fear each other, we fear even to live. We may not do this nor that, because we fear the consequences. Fear is hemming us in on every side.

"Fear not!" Fearing is not the work of some evil demon within or without us—though its effects are so hideous that we are tempted to disclaim our responsibility. Fearing is something we can do, or not do. The command, "Fear not," implies our ability to respond, and urges our will into action. A soothing "Don't be afraid," for which it is often mistaken, would not be intended to do this.

Today we can "Fear not." Tomorrow we may be destroyed by our fearing.

By fearing we are preventing the inflow of energy which our manifold nature requires for its faculties to function properly. We are stifling ourselves because our fearing is forbidding our free intercourse with outside elements.

Pride and greed stink within us, yet we fear to open the door to life.

What energy we have left is all of a dither. Uncontrolled, as it is, by superior direction, ready to respond to the least stimulus, it falls an easy prey to the fear-profiiteer who tickles it with tales of the erection of gruesome totems of destruction which can only be counteracted by the superior magic of more terrifying totems. Our common sense inhibited by fearing, we raise our totem-pole higher and higher, ludicrous and obscene. Yet when babel falls its first victims are those who commit themselves most closely to its defence.

Danger without and danger within. Truly our danger is grave! That is the very moment for deliverance.

We are not left helpless. We can "Fear not," and look to the rescuing power which keeps watch within the shadow of danger itself. That power, whose intelligence is so much more comprehensive and uniting than our small know-all, closed-in minds, directs us now in no uncertain voice: "Fear not."

It knows we cannot begin to participate in any mode of action higher than material force, economic necessity, or political expediency till we stop fearing. It has still more to tell us when we are listening. . . .

"Fear not." Here, at last, we are bidden to do something all healthy-minded people can do. If we are unable to put a stop to this folly and sin of our fearing, then there is something radically wrong with us, and we need more specialized help. The Man Who said "Fear not them who can kill the body" can give it.

This impediment removed, our lives can be and will be flooded by the holy spirit of giving, which alone carries the divine humility into the depths of man's nature.

The choice is ours: to obey the directors of life, or the dictators of fear.

Amos Francis

THE NATIONAL PETITION

A Good Start Has Been Made, But Even Greater Efforts Are Needed

By GERALD BAILEY,
(Directing Secretary of the National Peace Council)

I VERY gladly avail myself of the opportunity which the Editor has given me to send a message to readers of *Peace News* in regard to the National Petition "for a new Peace Conference."

The Petition represents one of the most significant enterprises undertaken by the peace movement in this country in the last twenty years. That it was launched at the moment of gravest peril—if also of greatest opportunity—since the Great War ended, would in itself establish this claim. But the claim is confirmed by the scope and character of the support which the Petition is receiving.

Despite considerable difficulties, the campaign has made remarkable headway in the seven or eight weeks since it was inaugurated. Nearly 400,000 copies of the form for signature have been distributed to date; in some degree or other every area, from Northern Ireland and the North of Scotland to the Scilly Isles, is involved; organized action in support of the Petition is already being undertaken in at least 200 centres, and in a large proportion of these a house-to-house canvass or its near equivalent is being arranged; forty national societies of varying kind have distributed the material to their branches and members; the Petition has already been sponsored by a most imposing array of prominent persons representing the churches, the political parties, commerce, the trade unions, the stage, literature and the arts.

Those familiar with popular petitions are repeatedly informing us that never in their experience have they met so great a readiness to sign a plea of this kind to the government of the day.

STILL MORE NEEDED

This initial welcome has been most encouraging but a more sustained and extended effort is essential if the Petition is to achieve its purpose. If time and circumstances permit the campaign will continue until several million persons are ranged behind the Petition—in the conviction that the vast majority of the common people of Great Britain desire ardently the radically constructive leadership for peace which the Petition demands.

It is, in fact, because the Petition is the first attempt to measure quantitatively the amount of popular support there is for a constructive peace policy—a kind of Peace National Register—that the enterprise is of such great moment and must be made to succeed. But in any case—and for more immediate purposes—a minimum of one million signatures is indispensable and this goal must be reached not later than the end of February, because it is intended to have central and local demonstrations on the basis of the Petition at the beginning of March.

In response to the appeal issued at the outset an effort—in which groups and individual members of the Peace Pledge Union have played an energetic and leading part—was made in a number of places to complete the work of the Petition before Christmas and in the result the Petition has been provided with a solid foundation of support which augurs well for its ultimate success.

But there are still a considerable number of places in which sufficiently organized action has not yet been taken and the Petition Committee earnestly appeals to

the groups of the Peace Pledge Union and individual readers of *Peace News* to lend themselves to a supreme effort to bring these places into line during January and February.

Arrangements already in hand for house-to-house canvassing in several of the larger towns including Birmingham, Coventry, Huddersfield, Southampton, &c., will swell the Petition totals considerably but success also requires the intensive effort of individuals and small local organizations in every area of population throughout the country.

If door-to-door canvass is impracticable, steps should at least be taken to ensure that the membership of sympathetic local organizations—including the churches—is fully recruited for the Petition. And, as to individual action, space does not permit me to show by example what an individual can do if the crusading spirit is there.

A STRENGTHENED CASE

The Petition was launched in the early days of November as an expression of the conviction that only a more determined and comprehensive attempt—on the initiative of the democracies—to deal with the conditions which endanger peace would prevent the recurrence of crisis, give some hope of arresting the race in armaments and remove the continuing danger of war.

The promoters of the Petition had—and have—no illusions as to the obstacles in the way of the new international discussions envisaged by the Petition. There are the inherent difficulties of negotiating any satisfactory agreements with the dictatorships, or on the other hand of securing the necessary leadership from democratic Governments reluctant to pay the price of constructive peace-making. There is above all the dead-weight of fatalism which draws into a feverish rearmament the energies of democracies and dictatorships alike.

Nor are the organizers of the Petition unaware that these difficulties and this fatalism have been intensified by the spread of persecution over Europe in recent weeks. And yet these circumstances serve only to strengthen the fundamental case of the Petition.

The central alternatives remain. Either we seek some constructive solution or the horns of the dilemma impale us—war or the surrender which is little better than war. Unless a peace-making initiative is taken—excluding none who are prepared to cooperate—all that remains for us (in the forceful words of the *New Statesman*) is to make ready for war and more war or helplessly to watch the growth of a universal Fascist tyranny in which there will be no war because there will be nothing left to fight for.

Leaflets and posters have been specially prepared for use in connexion with the petition campaign and are obtainable from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, S.W.1, or from the headquarters of cooperating organizations.

Special poster parades in connection with the petition will leave Peace Pledge Union headquarters (96 Regent Street, W.1.) at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m. on Saturday, January 7, 1939.

Volunteers intending to take part should send their names to the PPU, 96 Regent Street, as soon as possible.

U.S. Youth Back Conference

SUPPORT for President Roosevelt's suggestion, during the crisis, that a conference of all governments should be called, with a view to settling international disputes and re-establishing international cooperation, is contained in a letter sent to the US President by the International Council of the World Youth Congress Movement.

The council claims to speak for 40,000,000 young people in 54 lands, and has already received a message of encouragement from President Roosevelt.

WE URGE YOU TO SIGN THIS:

The National Petition for a New Peace Conference

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED

believing

that permanent peace cannot be secured by competitive armaments, through sacrifices imposed upon small nations, or by exclusive arrangements between groups of major Powers, but only through a more fundamental and general settlement;

urge

the necessity for the holding of a NEW PEACE CONFERENCE open to all nations and directed toward remedying the economic and political conditions likely to lead to war;

and pray

His Majesty's Government to take, in consultation with the President of the United States of America, the necessary steps to secure the holding of such a conference, after adequate preparation, and to offer the fullest collaboration of this country in bringing the negotiations to a successful issue.

LONDON TO SEE WORKERS' EMPIRE EXHIBITION

London will soon have a chance to see the Workers' Empire Exhibition which created such a stir in Glasgow last year. In a report at that time *Forward* said the exhibition "exposes slums of Empire, where British rule means disease, hunger and ignorance."

The London version will be held in Friends House, Euston Road, and will be opened on Friday, January 20, at 4 p.m. It will remain open on Saturday, January 21, 2.30 to 10 p.m.; Monday to Friday, 6.30 to 10 p.m. (except Thursday), and Saturday, January 28, 2.30 to 10 p.m.

Together with the exhibition the committee responsible is organizing a conference on the colonial question which it wants to make as representative as possible.

Details of the exhibition and conference are obtainable from the Workers' Empire Exhibition Committee, 35, St. Blaise Street, London, E.C.4.

Sending Old "Peace News" Abroad

As a result of the experiment, initiated by a correspondent in Newquay, of sending back numbers of *Peace News* to people abroad, more than 180 contacts will have been made when all inquiries for addresses abroad have been dealt with.

The correspondent who is putting readers in touch, however, has not yet been able to answer all the letters received from readers. Those whose letters are still unanswered can rest assured they will be dealt with as soon as possible.

N.B.—Will the reader who was given the name of Miss Annie van der Plaats please desist from sending back numbers of the paper to her, and dispatch them instead to: Mr. G. de Kries, 70 Linaansstr., The Hague, Holland.

About Our Circulation

Circulation . . . 17,850
Gain on Week . . . 1,049

The gain of 1,049 this week is due to last week's figure having been erroneously given as 17,301 instead of 16,801. The loss last week should accordingly have read 2,259 instead of 1,759.

To the Editor of Peace News

AS a very keen admirer of your excellent paper I am extremely anxious about the alarming way the circulation is dropping.

Whatever else one may say of the pacifist movement in England it is certainly not alive to the possibilities of its very live weekly. In fact 17,000 readers out of a membership of 123,000 is deplorable. It is obvious what we need is a circulation guaranteed of 100,000 weekly. Then you would attract advertisers and the resulting enlarged paper would give a comforting sense of value to buyers.

I sometimes buy the *Daily Worker*. It always records with pride its struggle to live and the way its readers find the cash to enable it to continue. The paper has fought the boycott of the wholesale dealers—the police have raided it and yet it has appeared daily for ten years.

Our *Peace News* has none of these drawbacks. It is beautifully printed—it has intelligent articles—it carries information of the utmost value to us who are trying to set the world on the right road. I cannot see the connexion between a body of people who profess a belief that—carried to its utmost at a time of stress may mean facing a firing squad—and yet cannot amass enough of the spirit of sacrifice to pay 2d. a week for *Peace News*.

I presume this question of falling circulation is troubling you. Can you suggest anything that can be done. The drop from sixteen pages to twelve was a pity but presumably cost induced this.

Wishing you a Happy New Year and that 100,000 circulation.

A. LEAPER.

38 Tyne Street, Hull.

★

The basic circulation—represented mainly by sales through newsagents—has not decreased appreciably, and what drop there has been since the Armistice issue has already been practically recovered.

Beyond that there is a necessarily varying figure for sales at meetings, on the streets, and so on. The drop in total circulation is almost entirely due to this.

That means not only that not so many meetings have been held lately, but that the efforts of our small, but generally noble, band of salesmen (and saleswomen) have been falling off. If the festive season (which has this kind of effect over more than one week) was some justification, we hope that now it has passed those efforts will be resumed to the full and even increased.

That the "basic" circulation is not much greater is, as our correspondent suggests, deplorable.

By far the best way to increase it is for every group of the Peace Pledge Union to see that every member—especially the non-active—is visited with a copy of the paper (for thousands have never seen it) and his order taken, whether to be handed to a newsagent, sent to us, or fulfilled by the groups.

Next best activity for every group is to arrange a street-selling squad or rota. Chance customers often give orders through their newsagents.

JANUARY

NOW READY

THE ADELPHI

(Edited by MAX PLOWMAN)

Pacifists must move heaven and earth to
SOLVE THE REFUGEE PROBLEM
or democracy is meaningless and pacifism
mere self-protection.

64 pages

(no advertisements)
(post free 7d.)

for 6d.

The Adelphi, 12, Woodside, Erskine Hill, London, N.W.11

Next Week

we shall publish the first of
a series of three articles
by
Mrs. H. M. Swanwick
on
**"Thoughts on a
World
Conference"**

The Pacifist's Bookshelf

POWER or PEACE?

By J. W. Cowling

News of the French. By Montgomery Beligon. Faber & Faber. 8s. 6d.

UNDER the impulse of world events the British and French democracies are being brought face to face with a vital choice. Shall they value their possessions less than those ideals of which they are the custodians (however imperfect), or shall they become to all intents authoritarian States striving to maintain their possessions by naked force?

Mr. Beligon's study of contemporary France closes with a long quotation from an article by M. Auguste Detœuf posing this very dilemma:

We must decide [writes M. Detœuf] whether we want to be mighty or happy. We must decide whether what we want is to terrify or to attract. We must decide whether we wish to enforce our will or prefer to fascinate. We must decide between arming beyond our strength and living.

In the depths of our hearts we have already decided; but we behave, we shall always behave, as if we had not. We shall go on trying to seem to lead a part of Europe, go on refusing for the sake of a false prestige opportunities for peace, go on claiming to monopolize for ourselves a colonial dominion too large for our strength, and go on posing as a braggart in a way that some day may land us in the warfare we abhor. If we decide to be mighty, we shall have forthwith to go on a war footing—a complete war footing. We shall have to think only of war and to welcome the prospect of war, with but the faintest hope of peace.

M. Detœuf urges a better way. It would mean becoming a second-class Power as regards material strength, but,

judged according to the power of the intelligence and of the universal moral values of justice and freedom; according to art, taste, and the mind, we shall regain without a struggle the rank that is due to us but that the illusion of material might is causing us to lose: the first.

But I have started at the wrong end of the book. Mr. Beligon must not be accused of grinding any particular axe. He justifies the publisher's claim for his book—that it describes "objectively" the problems and difficulties that now beset the French. In those problems and difficulties we inevitably see our own. The twenty-two years he has spent in France have not blinded him to the faults of its men and women; may one hope that in seeing, with him, their faults, we shall see some of our own too?

The first half of the book deals chiefly with internal problems. The events portrayed follow a pattern with which we in Britain are familiar.

On the one hand is fear (expressed by the President of the General Confederation of French Employers in 1936) lest social evolution should "turn into a real revolution"; on the other hand, the impossibility, which (again, as in Britain) the Left tends to ignore, of making any permanent progress while working within the limits of capitalism. The trend toward monopoly in industry is another feature which has its counterpart in our own country.

The gains of the Popular Front have been largely lost since this book was written. While they were being won, records Mr. Beligon, employers did no more than "put up with the changes in the relations of capital and labour. Even when an employer was inclined toward generosity, it was in a spirit of paternalism."

The spirit among employers is expressive of the individualism which Mr. Beligon considers a fundamental trait of the French. It persists in the family and in international relations as well as in internal politics.

Some of the troubles of employers are due to fiscal policy, so the author includes a useful chapter on French finance. For the latter, "crazy" would not seem an extravagant description. It is a result partly of that failure to grasp reality which showed itself in the demands for Reparations from Germany. The rebuilding of war-devastated regions gave rise to "flagrant abuses," with the result that

In the spring of 1919 the French were asking in Reparations for 65 milliard francs.

Six months later the sum had become 134 milliard francs.

In 1921 they thought they might as well get 218 milliard francs.

Yet Mr. J. M. Keynes had estimated that 20 milliard francs would cover the damage.

It took the French a long time to grasp that

however low they might make their bill, Germany could not meet it.

"Inordinate overspending" is diagnosed as the cause of French financial difficulties, and Mr. Beligon quotes a first-rate authority who attributes this to (a) the desire for colonies, and (b) the dread of war.

On the colonial question he is as informative as ever. He denies that the French are possessed of a "colonizing vocation" (though he seems to think we are!) and shows that they have pages in their colonial record as black as our own (though he himself does not point to the similarity).

Strangely enough he declares that "trade between the colonies and the mother-country brings no profit to France itself," though "on occasion industries in France are not above applying for special protection in one of the colonies, even if such protection will be to the detriment of the inhabitants."

Two significant facts emerge: that the people themselves have been hostile to colonial conquests, and that the "little" wars to secure colonies have been fought with the purpose of making France a leading international Power—judged by the standard of might.

This purpose is again apparent in the events reviewed in the best chapter in the book—"Behind the War Scare"—wherein Mr. Beligon makes it clear that the French have only themselves to blame for the bogey of a German invasion.

Altogether, the conduct of the French at the peace was well calculated to give a proud people, momentarily bowed down by internal unrest and external defeat, the feeling that from their Western neighbour there was to be expected, so long as that neighbour was strong and they were weak, no gleam of human

generosity; nothing but a series of overbearing and ferocious exactions.

In time so deluded did the French become by the bogey which they themselves had thus conjured up that when German troops marched into the Rhineland, the French Government did not dare to do more than protest, notwithstanding that full military service had only been re-established in Germany in 1935, a twelve-month earlier. For it was supposed in France that the German army was already huge.

To put it briefly—"it is the French who first fortified up to the hilt; but it is the Germans who, in France, are credited with belligerent intentions."

All the French political parties, thinks Mr. Beligon, share responsibility for this state of affairs. Right and Left "are united in the figure which France should cut in the world." It is consequently hardly surprising that he suggests in a later chapter that the average Frenchman has no claim to the title "Christian":

I submit that no Frenchman who declares that unless French powers of defence are much greater than German powers of defence, France will certainly be attacked by Germany—no Frenchman, that is to say, who prefers to trust to armaments rather than to justice and to Providence—holds the Christian faith.

In view of this it is a pity he observes that "there seems to be no doubt that in case of war not a single Frenchman would refuse to answer the call to the colours."

The crisis showed that war resisters do exist, despite conscription, while the formation of the Trade Union Anti-War Centre last summer was also worthy of mention. It is obvious that there are some Frenchmen who, to quote M. Detœuf again, have "thought out what peace requires" and have decided that the nation ought "to conduct itself very differently from in the past."

This, however, is the only serious fault I can find with Mr. Beligon's survey. It provides a background—wider in scope than I have been able to indicate—essential to the understanding of events in France during the coming year. The choice outlined by M. Detœuf will, I think, present itself even more clearly during the next few months.

Bias to the Left

By John Boylan

"Which Way Tomorrow?" By Doreen Blyth. Chapman and Hall. Price 5s.

IN her preface to this panoramic survey of the contemporary political scene, Miss Blyth expresses a regret that her book will inevitably be regarded as biased.

I admit the bias with a cheerfulness that permits of no regret, since the bias is on the right side—that is to say, the Left—of the political controversy. I am aware of the direction from which will come the brick-bats and blame for the author's bias. So also is Miss Blyth, confessing as she does, that "by every circumstance of heredity, upbringing and environment was she biased against the conclusions set forth in this book." This makes heartening reading.

Miss Blyth has smashed through the barriers of invincible ignorance to some purpose. Her book is a masterly exposition of the case for Socialism in our time, lucidly written, each page packed with meat, fire in every sentence and sustained throughout by a noble emotion kept free from sentimentality by the remorseless logic with which she presents her argument.

"Two and a half years' study of innumerable lengthy and specialized works" went to the making of her equipment for the work in hand. A glance at the bibliography confirms this. Every significant writer of the Left from Marx to Strachey is listed, as well as the publications of such bodies as the League of Nations Union, Union of Democratic Control, Labour Party, New Fabian Research Bureau, Peace Pledge Union, and so on. Merely to say that Miss Blyth "knows her stuff" is to make an understatement.

Each chapter deals with a separate aspect of the political controversy—general, international, national, social, psychological, moral, and religious. The situation in Spain, the Italo-Abyssinian War, the Crisis, the Jewish persecution, all these are discussed by the author in the course of her survey of world events from Versailles to Munich. As a whole the book is perhaps the most devastating indictment of Capitalism since Blatchford's *Merrie England*.

FOR pacifists the section dealing with "Children and War" will have an interest of some poignancy.

"Adults make wars," says Miss Blyth, "but it is always the children who suffer most cruelly and irreparably from them," and goes on to prove this, relating how during the last war over four million children were dying of starvation in Central Europe. The bodies of children who had died of hunger were picked up even in the smartest streets of Vienna.

Indeed our adult responsibility towards the children our generation has brought into being is the keynote of the book. It is to the children she dedicates it—"the world's most helpless and most precious citizens—THE CHILDREN—present and future, in whose defence this book was written."

"Which Way Tomorrow?" asks Doreen Blyth, and her book is a sign-post to the Left. Either Socialism; or Fascism with its attendant horrors of war and famine and the crucifixion of liberty—the end of civilization as we know it. Either Socialism or the abyss.

This is a book, not for specialists, but for everyone with a mind to think and a heart to feel. The writing is vigorous and pungent, as readable as Hans Anderson and vibrant with all the verve and sparkle of a Shavian preface.

PEACE BOOK CLUB

Brings you the best in PEACE LITERATURE for 2/6 a month. Write for particulars and a free copy of PEACE BOOK NEWS to the Secretary:—PEACE BOOK CLUB, 5, Goodwin's Court, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2

CADBURY'S

BOURNVILLE COCOA

THE FOOD-DRINK OF THE PEOPLE

Japanese Best-Seller Tells Truth About War

I was filled with rage at the sight of life being destroyed so carelessly. Every man has his future. Every man is someone's son. Many of the soldiers are husbands and fathers. I could not prevent this indignation against war in its entirety swelling up within my heart.

THIS is a passage from a war diary of a Japanese soldier, Corporal Ashihei Hino, which has become a best-seller in Japan.

Published under the title, "Wheat and Soldiers," it tells the truth about war. Nearly 5,000,000 copies have been sold, and it is to be adapted for the cinema.

The book is said to be unbiassed, but its effect is to strip the glamour from war cultivated in official reports.

The author was the winner of a literary prize before the war, and has already written a war story.

An Irish Epic

"Green Banners." By R. M. Fox. Secker & Warburg. 12s. 6d.

R. M. FOX will be known to many who "did time" during the war as a vigorous anti-militarist who shared their fate. His book *Smoky Crusade* gives a lively account of those years.

In *Green Banners* Fox tells the story of Ireland's sufferings and her struggle for independence. Though English by birth, he writes of Ireland with detailed knowledge as the land of his adoption. Every student of imperialism should read his vivid narrative. So often we are told that reported "atrocities" committed in other parts of the Empire are incredible and therefore untrue; but those who know the story of Ireland, and particularly of the "Black and Tans," know better.

Two things in this book may especially interest the pacifist.

One is the (commonly forgotten) origin of "Sinn Féin." Originally this was not an insurrectionary movement but one of planned non-cooperation, similar in some respects to that of Gandhi in India, though it lacked in detail and method, and because of the conservative character of its leader (Arthur Griffith) never acquired in its pacific days any mass following comparable to the Civil Disobedience Movement in India.

The second point, which cannot be too often brought to our attention, is the way in which treason and mutiny in Ulster were condoned by a British Government.

This part of the story is well told and carefully documented; and whoever reads it may well wonder, firstly, when and in what circumstances a soldier is allowed to discover a conscience, and, secondly, how our "democracy" is likely to operate when next the ruling class (or a section of it) considers its vital interests threatened by the decisions of Parliament.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

YOUTH HOUSE—the residential centre for progressive youth. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting rooms, 17s. 6d. p.w. For particulars apply: SECRETARY, Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1. GULiver 5189.

Read the

SOCIALIST CASE AGAINST WAR in

"FORWARD"

Every Friday

2d.

HONEST, FEARLESS, INDEPENDENT

Send postcard for sample copy to:

26, Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, Jan. 6

LONDON, W.1.; 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street; "Is Christianity necessary?"; debate between Max Plowman and Nigel Spottiswoode; PPU.
KINGSBRIDGE; 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; public meeting; Canon Raven; PPU.

Sunday, Jan. 8

LONDON, N.W.1.; 7.30 p.m. "Cricketers' Arms," Inverness Street; debate: "That Christianity is not a religion of Peace"; L. E. Ebury and John Barclay; PPU.
NEWTON ABBOT; 8.15 p.m. Imperial Cinema; Canon Raven and Rudolf Messell; PPU.

Monday, Jan. 9

BARNSTAPLE; 3 p.m. Guildhall; minister's conference; Canon Raven; PPU.
BARNSTAPLE; 7.30 p.m. Guildhall; public meeting; Canon Raven; PPU.
CANONBURY; 8 p.m. Union Chapel, Highbury Corner; John Barclay; PPU.

Tuesday, Jan. 10

CROFTON PARK; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 396 Brockley Road (corner of Eddystone Road); John Barclay; PPU.

Wednesday, Jan. 11

EALING; 8 p.m. St. George's Hall (YMCA), Bond Street; Percy Bartlett, Thomas G. Richards and Rev. R. B. C. Talbot (chairman); PPU and FoR.
PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, Rye Lane; Misses Semadini and Gale on "International Friendship League"; PPU.
GREENFORD; 8.15 p.m. Public Library; John Barclay on "Active and Constructive Pacifism"; PPU.
WADDON; 8.15 p.m. St. George's Hall, Barrow Road; "Which Way to Peace?"; Rev. Alexander Miller, L. C. Montague, and Rev. S. L. Purches (chairman); PPU.

Thursday, Jan. 12

LONDON, E.C.4.; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Nigel Spottiswoode on "Economics of Peace and War"; City PPU group.
ABERDEEN; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 98 Crown Street; study circle; "Positio of Women in Modern War"; introduced by Mrs. Grant; PPU.
BARKING; 8 p.m. Park Modern Central School; David Spreckley on "The History of the PPU"; PPU.
UPPER NORWOOD; 8 p.m. The Foresters' Hall, Westow Street; Mark H. C. Hayler (chairman), Rev. Reg. Sorensen, Miss Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Friday, Jan. 13

LONDON, W.1.; 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street; shower party (everybody to bring gift for the club; buffet supper).
POOLE; 7.45 p.m. Longfleet Congregational Church; Rev. H. N. Horne on "National Service and ARP"; FoR.

Saturday, Jan. 14

MANCHESTER; 10.30 a.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; teachers' group; PPU.
HULL; 3 p.m. and 5.30 p.m. Peace Centre, 64 Prospect Street; regional conference; Rev. Glyn Lloyd-Phelps (secretary, Northern District); FoR.

Sunday, Jan. 15

MORECAMBE; 8.15 p.m. Sefton Road Congregational Church; Rev. J. Howard Davies (chairman), Mrs. H. Byles-Ford, and Rev. Ernest Foster on "The Christian and Pacifism"; PPU.

Wednesday, Jan. 18

LUTON; 8 p.m. Wesley Hall, Waller Street; Canon Charles Reven; PPU.

Friday, Jan. 20

(4 to 10 p.m.); SATURDAY, Jan. 21 (2.30 to 10 p.m.); MONDAY TO FRIDAY (6.30 to 10 p.m.)—not open THURSDAY; SATURDAY, Jan. 28 (2.30 to 10 p.m.)
LONDON, N.W.1.; Friends House, Euston Road; Workers' Empire Exhibition; admission by programme—3d.

Monday, Jan. 23

NOTTINGHAM; 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Parliament Street; PPU annual public meeting; Canon Stuart Morris and Maurice Rowntree; Nottingham Regional Committee, PPU.

Thurs. to Sat., Jan. 26 to 28

LONDON, N.W.1.; Friends House, Euston Road; A conference on the Economic Road to Peace; Speakers: Archibald Crawford, Ben Greene and others; organized by W.1 group of PPU; details from the honorary organizer, Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, London, W.1.

What does **PPU** stand for?

2. OBJECTS

It is sometimes said that pacifism is a mere negation. But though it begins with the refusal to take part in war, it cannot and does not end there. For that reason Aldous Huxley wrote the first official pamphlet of the Peace Pledge Union, What are you going to do about it? explaining its aims and basis. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union arises out of the basis of membership, which is the renunciation of the war method.

It is recognized that it is not sufficient merely to say "No" to war. The Peace Pledge Union presses for the immediate calling of a new world conference, at which representatives of all nations shall be invited to sit round the "family" table on terms of absolute equality, in order that their needs and grievances can be discussed. If we are to avoid war we must be prepared to discuss all the causes of possible war in a spirit of understanding and sympathy. Those who "have" must recognize their responsibility towards those who "have not." The PPU repudiates the war method whether used in self-defence, or in support of the League of Nations and collective security or in aggression.

The Peace Pledge Union is, therefore, anxious to include within its membership everyone who is ready to renounce war and live instead for peace.

The headquarters are at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.
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WHAT GERMANS THINK OF US

(Continued from page 9)

motives in declining to take part in war. We German people also do not desire war and least of all our leader unless he is forced to it. Also he has wanted disarmament for a long time, as you have probably learned from your newspapers. I am not going to join any organization, as I have already passed my best years and now feel too old. I feel no doubt whatever of the sincerity of your letter and wish you the very best of success for your ideas.

One woman tells us what a pleasant surprise the letter was:

I am sure you will be pleased that I can truthfully say to you, in Germany there exists no hostile or unpleasant feeling whatsoever toward England, France, or any other country, and that you can count on our complete sympathy for your attitude... we must take upon ourselves to promote this idea of peace and to resist any interference with it most energetically.

The head of a working-class family says:

Your letter has been received with great pleasure and I thank you. We were all very much astonished to receive a letter from you. We too, want peace, and have no desire to have anything to do with war, for I am a man with a grown-up son, wife, and three small children and have to live in continuous anxiety for those belonging to me.

We hope that you will continue to be successful. We found your letter very interesting and we certainly do not doubt in the least your sincerity, and your letter came to us as something really sincere.

We hope to have found in you a person such as we have often sought. You are in a way fortunate in that we have for some long time had it in mind to find someone with a view to an exchange of views, but we had given it up. We are, therefore, very thankful for your letter and hope that another will follow soon. With greetings from the family...

A young person wrote:

I got your letter and was astonished at it—the first in my life from England. Now I really am glad that there is such a movement in your country. You can be sure that we all love peace as much as you and your countrymen. I cannot remember having heard, during the last year, even a word of hate against English or French; it must have been against the well-known war-mongers. For what sensible man would not rather have work and peace instead of the destruction of war? Why should we not get on well together?... may in future the sun of understanding shine over all European peoples—may God grant this.

THERE were many praises for Mr. Chamberlain and only about three letters expressed any suspicion or hostility to the writers. One of these gives an interesting picture of the mentality of the staunch Nazi, but is too long to publish here. The selection given above is representative of the general tenor of the replies.

The possibility of direct contact with the ordinary men and women of totalitarian States has been proved. And it has been shown, too, that some people are not afraid to give an honest answer, even if they express their views moderately because of the censorship.

The original replies have been returned to PPU members all over the country. Copies have been retained at 96 Regent Street and may be seen by anyone on application.

But peace talk will never be enough to preserve peace. There must be action. Will not readers agree that it is time for the British people to prove their desire for peace by pressing for immediate disarmament?

The bombing planes which Britain is building—and using within her own Empire—are causing German people to feel that they must arm too. Their armaments frighten us into building still more bombers. Can we not give a lead to disarmament? How long will it be before you can write to an ordinary German man or woman and say, "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"—and say, too, that you have done something to make that pledge a living reality?

ROY WALKER

WORTHY OF NOTE

Message from Vera Brittain to The Humane Education Society.
"I feel very strongly that it is impossible to educate children or older people, to hold sound ideals of a rational civilisation, without first learning the importance of overcoming tendencies to cruelty. Your work is very necessary to all who are working for Peace and Goodwill between nations."
Please write for literature concerning Humane Education in Schools, Homes, and Youth Centres, to:
THE HUMANE EDUCATION SOCIETY, 80, Mosley Street, Manchester, 2.

WE MUST GIVE UP THE COLONIES

(continued from page 1)

causes as man-made. As such they could by man be removed. My belief, strengthened by my conversations with statesmen of many nations, is that there is a general recognition of the fact that imperialism as a national policy is finished. It is now no longer possible for two or three great Powers to dominate and control the major portion of the world. These Powers, aptly described by Sir Samuel Hoare as the "Haves," must be prepared to share with the "Have-nots."

As to the precise methods by which freedom of access to non-self-governing portions of the world can be obtained, these must be worked out by international commissions, fully representative of all nations. It must be recognized from the start that an effort must be made to treat the world as an economic unit, all nations understanding that the prosperity of each means the prosperity of all. International capitalist monopolies are able to sink all national differences in order to secure profit for themselves.

Our new conference will, I should expect, take good care to see that no private money-making monopoly, whatever its nationality, should hinder in any way international control of undeveloped territories, raw materials and organization of markets. We are living in a most wonderful age, an age of abundance, a period in man's history when the only fundamental question before all people is how to share the abundance which nature and scientific discovery has put at our disposal.

I do not propose to argue about ownership of colonies because I am quite certain that all nations owning colonies and mandated territories must be willing to pay a big price for peace, even if, subject to guarantees to safeguard the interests of the original inhabitants, it means putting some possessions and mandated territories under international control.

The main question, however, is much simpler and can be more easily adjusted. That is, how to organize the world's economic resources and unsatisfied markets in such a manner as to give to all nations equal opportunities for trade.

Our Responsibility

TO you who are full of doubt and worry and cannot believe peace is possible when you read or listen to the shouting and jeers of statesmen at each other across the air, I say without hesitation that having met these men face to face I am confident that they would one and all respond to a generous gesture or call from Great Britain.

We are the most wealthy and powerful. It is for us to tell Mr. Chamberlain, or any other Prime Minister, that words are not enough. Britain has sacrificed, and appears willing to sacrifice, millions of lives and untold wealth to "hold what she now possesses." I tell my countrymen this is impossible; imperialism for us means death.

I appeal to those who read this to join together in a great united campaign with the one object of persuading our people to support a new world conference and ourselves give the world a true lead for peace by declaring our willingness to share the use of territories, markets, and natural resources (bringing these all under international guidance), to disarm down to the last bomb, and to hand over all waterways and aerial routes to international control.

Such a conference will be held and with your help, Great Britain shall give it the lead which will save the world.

George Lansbury

International Rally in Sussex

An International Rally will be held in the Jevington Youth Hostel on March 18 and 19. The hostel is situated on the slopes of the Sussex Downs near Eastbourne.

There will be talks by various speakers and visitors from other countries, with discussion and community singing.

Transport by car from London can be arranged. All particulars are obtainable from Mr. S. W. Fullerton, 5 Selsdon Road, West Norwood, London, S.E.27.

THE ARYAN PATH

January 1939 Special Peace Number 72 Pages

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A Pacifist Commentary

Topics for Rome Talks :: Naval Arms Moves :: The Register—Labour Falls Into Line

DESPITE its recent campaign, the Italian Government is more worried about the position in Spain than about Tunis and Jibuti. Consequently the Spanish problem is certain to be prominent among the subjects which Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax will discuss with Mussolini during their four-day visit to Rome next week.

Already the exigencies of foreign policy and of economy have dictated a reduction in Italy's assistance to General Franco. The failure of the latest rebel offensive would create further problems for the Italian dictator, and the way has been paved for a retreat from Spain by occasional admissions in the Italian press that the Republican Government has fewer "Bolshevist" characteristics than formerly.

At this stage, one can only speculate upon the possible outcome of the talks in Rome. It may, however, be pointed out that if Mussolini would agree to withdraw all his volunteers from Spain, he would be removing the obstacle at present in the way of the granting of belligerent rights to General Franco. The granting of belligerent rights (i.e., the right to blockade) would probably enable the rebels to achieve victory before very long—even with the loss of Italian man-power.

There are the further considerations that a speedy end to the Spanish war could be hailed as a further victory for the British policy of "appeasement," and would also be popular with the Italian people.

Tunisia, Jibuti and Suez

AS for the Italian claims upon France, though the idea of mediation by Mr. Chamberlain has been turned down in Paris, this may not stop him from ascertaining the Italian Government's views. It remains to be seen whether the eventual outcome is a suggestion, to the French that they should meet some of the Italian demands, at any rate regarding Tunisia.

It should be noted that M. Daladier has not closed the door on the possibility of later negotiations with Italy, despite his references to France's readiness to defend her Empire. His trip to Corsica and Tunis seemed designed primarily to allay fears in those territories.

In the case of Jibuti, it would not be impossible for the British Government to do more than mediate, and to meet Mussolini's wishes by arranging for Italy to have access to, and facilities in, the port of Zeila in British Somaliland. This could be effected by linking Zeila with the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway. Such a British concession might overcome the strained relations between France and Italy, and lead to a resumption of negotiations on other questions.

With the demand for facilities at Jibuti is linked Italy's claim to a share in the control of the Suez Canal. Both are consequences of the invasion of Abyssinia. If the right of big Powers to acquire overseas possessions is allowed—and is Britain or France in a position to deny it?—then demands for reasonably easy access to such possessions are logical consequences.

Representative pacifist opinions on the whole colonial question appear elsewhere in this issue, and in our next issue an account will be given of the present control of the Suez Canal. It may be pointed out here, however, that a case for the internationalization of the Suez Canal can be made out on economic grounds.

Canal Administration

SUEZ CANAL dues are considerably higher than those of the Panama Canal, and, since the Panama Canal is not run by a private company for profit (in fact it is run at a loss), it can be argued that the Suez Canal should be put under some form of international control so that it can be administered in the interests of world shipping and not of shareholders. If that argument were accepted and acted upon, then the Canal could be "internationalized" in either of two ways:

One way would be to make the Suez Canal Company truly representative of "the nationalities interested in the enterprise" as provided in

its Articles of Association. In a world in which nationalism is easily inflamed this form of internationalization does not seem to be the best.

The alternative is to create international utility commission entrusted with the efficient working of the canal, and consisting of the chief shipping countries. That solution, while solving the economic difficulty perhaps, would certainly raise many political issues.

Strictly speaking, the canal is now "neutralized"; that is, no vessel, whether of commerce or war, may be prevented from travelling through the canal. Yet in the Great War, Great Britain, on the ground of defending the canal, closed it entirely to enemy shipping.

If, however, an international commission took over the canal, its defence would be the common responsibility of the participating Powers. Great Britain would lose her exclusive control over the shortest route to her empire in the Near and Far East. Thus, if Mussolini has a footing in Spain and Morocco, and the Suez Canal is really made neutral, then the two exits of the Mediterranean would both be at least partly controlled by Italy.

German Naval Claims

THE German desire to build more and bigger submarines, and more cruisers, which a British Admiralty mission has been discussing in Berlin, follows naval increases by America and a threat of increases by Soviet Russia.

As usual, arms breed counter-arms, and if Britain meets the German claim—which is based on a clause of the Anglo-German Naval Agreements of 1935 and 1937—it seems that France will be provoked into increasing her naval strength. The comment of the the Paris Correspondent of *The Times*, on Monday was illuminating:

As to the reasons which lie behind the German demand, it is assumed that one of the most important is a desire for increased offensive power in the Baltic, though the possibilities of submarine action in the North Sea are not being overlooked. In any event, none of the most likely explanations of the German move is regarded with any relish in France.

Nor, presumably, are those explanations regarded with any relish in Russia or the Baltic States.

The next step is for the German Government to give the British Government formal notice of its claim. Until then, we can hardly expect a pronouncement on the British attitude.

Aland Islands: New Move

THE danger that the Aland Islanders may be forcibly militarized, on account of their strategic importance in power politics (to which we drew attention in our issue of December 23) has become more immediate.

Delegations from the Governments of Finland (under whose sovereignty the islanders were in 1921, given an autonomous status) and Sweden were due to meet in Stockholm, yesterday, to negotiate about "arrangements for the safety of the Aland Islands."

It is true that the Swedish Foreign Minister, Mr. Sandler, has declared his

wish to take into consideration the will of the Aland people. But though those whose opinions, if expressed, may have some influence on the immediate negotiations, will doubtless remind him of that, there are not unnatural fears that the islanders will be used as pawns, just as much by the small States as by the Powers against whose strategy they seek to defend themselves. They do not forget that they were "sold" (as they express it) by the League to Finland, despite their wish to be returned to Sweden.

Now they fear not only that their islands will be fortified, but that they will be made to do military service. It is not that they harbour any selfish opposition to conscription. The sailors, in fact, willingly give much longer service as pilots than they would as soldiers. But they—particularly the farmers—know what being caught up in the business of military "defence" means.

They are not, however, entirely in the hands of the Swedish and Finnish Governments. We ourselves have some say in the matter. For Great Britain shares with those countries, and also with Germany, Denmark, Estonia, France, Italy, Latvia, and Poland, responsibility for guaranteeing the League's 1921 Aland Convention.

Labour and the Register

LABOUR has "fallen in" behind the Government on the question of the National Register, just as it did when rearmament was the issue. Indeed, having accepted the one, can it boggle at the other? And will it be able to protest if in due course the Government announces that, the voluntary system having failed, compulsion will be necessary?

Mr. Ernest Bevin has told the Transport and General Workers' Union that the scheme is a dishonest one; nevertheless the Labour leaders (political and industrial), who have been discussing it with the Government, have been assured that the scheme is essentially voluntary, have secured the adoption of their suggestion that industrial representation on local committees should be increased, and are now ready to try to make the voluntary scheme a thorough success.

Much will now depend upon Labour representatives in local government, who are to be urged by the National Council of Labour, to assist in forming the local committees and "to safeguard the voluntary nature of the scheme to the fullest extent."

The pacifist movement now becomes almost the only movement in the country that really opposes National Service. But it does more: it offers a constructive alternative, based upon its repudiation of the entire policy of war preparation of which National Service is a part.

So far as parties represented in Parliament are concerned, the ILP is the only one planning opposition to National Service. Its general secretary, Mr. Fenner Brockway, has issued a statement criticizing the Labour decision and announcing the ILP's intention to try to organize resistance on a national scale, in cooperation with other bodies.

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ON PAGE 11.

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